

Message Text

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SUBJ: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 3, 1977 (SALT TWO-1209)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
AT THE SLAT TWO MEETING OF JUNE 3, 1977.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
JUNE 3, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

I
OUR DELEGATIONS HAVE HAD USEFUL EXCHANGES OF VIEWS
REGARDING THE CONVERSION OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS AS
ADDRESSED IN ARTICLE VI. AS A RESULT, BOTH DELEGATIONS
HAVE MADE CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS PERTAINING TO THE

LANGUAGE OF PARAGRAPH 3 OF THIS ARTICLE.

THE DELEGATIONS ARE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE
PURPOSE OF THIS PROVISION IS TO DETERMINE WHEN ICBM AND
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SLBM LAUNCHERS OF A TYPE NOT SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS
OF ARTICLE V, WHICH UNDERGO CONVERSION TO LAUNCHERS OF
A TYPE SUBJECT TO THAT LIMITATION, SHALL BE INCLUDED IN
THE MIRV LAUNCHER AGGREGATE. IN THE CASE OF SLBM
LAUNCHERS, THE CURRENT PROPOSALS OF THE SIDES APPEAR TO
BE CIRITUALLY THE SAME. IN CONTRAST, CURRENT FORMULATIONS
OF THE SIDES REGARDING ICBM LAUNCHERS ARE DIFFERENT.

II

THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS STATED THAT ICBM LAUNCHERS UNDERGOING CONVERSION SHOULD BEGIN TO COUNT UNDER THE MIRV LIMITATION AT A POINT IN TIME, ASSOCIATED WITH AN EVENT IDENTIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, DURING THE CONVERSION PROCESS. THIS POINT IN TIME SHOULD BE LATE ENOUGH TO PERMIT CONVERSION TO BE DISTINGUISHED FROM OTHER ACTIVITIES. IT SHOULD BE EARLY ENOUGH TO AVOID A SITUATION IN WHICH, IN EFFECT, A SIDE WOULD HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF EXCEEDING THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION ON MIRV LAUNCHERS IN A SHORT TIME.

THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION WITH RESPECT TO THE CONVERSION OF ICBMS IS REFLECTED IN THE LANGUAGE, "THE INITIAL STAGE OF CONVERSION," OF SUBPARAGRAPH (A) OF PARAGRAPH 3. UNDER THIS PROPOSAL, THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION WOULD DEVELOP PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD DEFINE, IN A VERIFIABLE WAY, "THE INITIAL STAGE OF CONVERSION" WHEN AN ICBM LAUNCHER WOULD BECOME SUBJECT TO THE MIRV LAUNCHER LIMITATION. THE SOVIET FORMULATION MAKES REFERENCE TO "THE FINAL STAGE OF CONVERSION." ALTHOUGH THERE IS A DIFFERENCE IN THE FORMULATIONS OF THIS PROVISION, THE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES MAY BE SMALL. FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION'S RATIONALE FOR ITS FORMULATION OF THIS SUBPARAGRAPH WOULD BE HELPFUL IN DETERMINING WHETHER OR NOT OUR DIFFERENCES ARE SUBSTANTIVE, AND, IF SO, WHAT THESE DIFFERENCES ARE.

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III

ANOTHER APPARENT AREA OF DIFFERENCE ARISES FROM THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A SECOND SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE VI. IN THE FIRST SENTENCE, THE SIDES HAVE AGREED THAT, "THE ARMS SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THIS AGREEMENT SHALL CONTINUE TO BE SUBJECT TO THESE LIMITATIONS UNTIL THEY ARE DISMANTLED, ARE DESTROYED, OR OTHERWISE CEASE TO BE SUBJECT TO THESE LIMITATIONS UNDER PROCEDURES AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION." THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS PROPOSED A SECOND SENTENCE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THAT, "ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE V OF THIS AGREEMENT, UNDERGOING CONVERSION FOR MISSILES NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, CEASE TO BE SUBJECT TO THE AFOREMENTIONED LIMITATION FROM THE INITIATION OF THEIR CONVERSION." THIS TYPE OF CONVERSION HAS NOT YET OCCURRED. IT WOULD BE NEW AND COMPLEX AND,

GIVEN THE ABSENCE OF EXPERIENCE, IT WOULD NOW BE DIFFICULT TO SPECIFY A POINT IN TIME WHEN THESE LAUNCHERS SHOULD CEASE TO COUNT IN THE MIRV LAUNCHER AGGREGATE. FURTHER, SINCE NEITHER SIDE IS AT THE MIRV LAUNCHER AGGREGATE LEVEL, THE ACTIVITY TO WHICH SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR THE SECOND SENTENCE IS DIRECTED IS NOT LIKELY TO OCCUR IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THEREFORE, THERE IS NO URGENCY IN REACHING A DECISION ON THIS MATTER. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 5, WHICH IS ALREADY AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES, ADEQUATELY TAKES CARE OF THIS SITUATION.

IV

MR. MINISTER, I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR FURTHER VIEWS ON THIS MATTER.

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